778 A charm from the Koran, called kiraha, karaha, or korh, "hatred"
755 or "destestation", is written for the purpose of curing a person of some particular vice from which he is suffering, such as drunkenness or
[276] libidinousness or the habit of smoking Indian hemp (kif). This charm is hung on him, and in addition some fowl's dung is secretly mixed into his food so as to make the object of his evil desire—drink, women, or kif—as distasteful to him as is the dung (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[214] A simpler method adopted for the same purpose is to ask the schoolmaster to write a charm from the Koran, which is put into a little case of leather or calico and hung round the neck of the boy (Ait Waryager).

784 [223] In various places it is considered bad to give yeast (Garbiya, Hiaina, Ait Waryager) or salt (Garbiya, Ait Nder, Ait Waryager) out of the house or tent after asar or sunset.

[224] The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and the Shlöh of Aglu consider it very dangerous to cut down trees on a Friday. In many parts
[224] of the country hunting is then abstained from (Fez, Mogador, Ulad
[753] Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager, Igliwa, Aglu); a Berber from Glawi told me of a man who killed five pigeons with one shot on a Friday, and became blind at the same moment.

841 [232] In Andjra the women should be clean when they milk the
778 cows, sheep, or goats; if an animal is milked by a menstruating woman it will become diseased. Among the Ait Waryager, on the other hand, a menstruous woman is allowed to milk an animal, but not a woman who has refrained from washing after she has had connection with her husband. In the same tribe it is held that if an unclean person goes among the sheep they will die, because they are holy animals and in consequence easily hurt by defilement.

784 The horse, which is such a holy animal, must be well guarded
834 against pollution. It seems to be a universal belief in Morocco that
778 if a person who is sexually unclean rides a horse some evil will happen to him: he will tumble down, or be late in arriving at his destination, or will not succeed in his business, or will have boils, or become ill or die.

[233] Some people even say that the mule, though not a holy animal, will get sores if ridden by an unclean individual, whereas nothing will happen to the rider (Andjra, Ait Waryager). When a person gives barley to a horse, mule, or donkey, he should be clean,

784 778 834 since the barley would otherwise be bad for the animal, and when he gives it he should say the bismillah; I was told that these rules owe their origin to the baraka of the barley (Hiaina). When you stroke the back of such an animal you should not do it with your palm but with the outer side of your hand, since the palm may be unclean (ibid.).

514 784 778 [234] Like sexual uncleanness, excremental impurity is injurious to baraka. A person ought not to sleep inside a mosque, because during sleep he may have a nightly pollution or break wind or make water. If anybody breaks wind in a mosque he kills thereby the angels in it or makes them blind, or at any rate displeases them, and he will himself fall ill or become poor. I have seen men remove their trousers before prayer, since no prayer will be accepted from a person in a state of uncleanness. Nobody is allowed to pray in a place where there are excrements of any other animals but such as are used for food, that is, cattle, sheep, goats, and camels. Urination and evacuation must not take place in the direction of Mecca; in the case of the former the person should have his face turned westward, in the case of the latter north- or south-wards. It is forbidden to do one's needs or urinate in the sea. It is also forbidden to do such things in a river or a pond. He who urinates in water will be struck by a jenn (Hiaina, Ait Sadden) or urinate blood after his death (Ait Waryager).

784 778 782 [239] Baraka may be spoiled by contact with the ground and its impurities. The prayer-place of a Muhammadan must be clean; hence a Moor of the better class often carried under his arm a coloured felt-cloth on which he kneels when he says his prayers, or a cloak is for the same purpose spread on the ground. Yet people may pray on the bare ground if the sun is shining on it. Neither the Koran, nor any other book containing the name of God, nor the writing-boards of schoolboys, must be placed on the ground, at any rate if there can be the slightest suspicion about the cleanness of the place; and even where the ground is clean a scribe would not leave on it the book which he consults when he writes a charm, for fear lest some person or animal should walk over it and thereby deprive the writing of its efficacy. A t ebrid loses its power if it falls to the ground. Another written charm may perhaps in similar circumstances retain its efficacy if it is at once put in wheat or barley to be purified, but if anybody has trampled upon it its baraka is irremediably lost (Ait Waryager).

784 272 [243] Milk and butter are very liable to be injured by the evil eye, witchcraft, or other evil influences, and are therefore in need of many precautions.

● 704 272 A person who in the evening is going to carry milk from his own house or tent to that of somebody else, puts a little salt in it to protect it from jnun (Ait Waryager, Temsaman), or he drops into it a green grass-blade as a charm which will avert evil from the cows (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk is given to a neighbor he must not return the vessel empty but he must put something into it, for example, flour, or salt, or grass, or water; otherwise the house or tent of its owner will also become empty (Ait Warain, At Ubahti, Temsaman). But if a person takes milk out of his house or tent to give it to some one to drink, he must not take back there anything of it which is left, but should drink it himself or give it to some poor person or a dog, or pour it out in a place where nobody walks; should he take it back with him his cows, or his family as well, would have to suffer for it (Andjra, Ait Waryager, At Ubahti). If a person who is carrying milk meets another on the road, he must offer him a drink of it, and, as said above, the latter is obliged to accept the offer or, at least, to dip a finger, generally the little finger of the right hand, which is the cleanest, into the milk, putting it then into his mouth or touching his forehead with it. The offering of milk serves as a safeguard against [754] the evil eye, and will besides benefit the offerer in a more positive manner owing to the blessing pronounced on him by the recipient, which will make his animals thrive. But I have also heard that you should offer milk even to a person who does not know that you are [244] carrying such a thing; for if you conceal milk from him God will always conceal it from you (Andjra). The custom in question seems to prevail all over Morocco; but sometimes I was told that it is only observed in the morning (Ait Nder), or not between enemies (Ait Waryager). While gratuitous offering of milk is thus in certain cir- [132] cumstances prescribed by custom, the sale of milk is forbidden (Temsaman): he who sells milk will not have much of it (Andjra), something bad will happen to his cows (Ulad Bu aziz), or he will leave his children destitute (Ait Warain). This rule is often broken, especially in towns where there are European residents; but during my stay in Marraksh I often found people unwilling to sell milk. A gratuity, however, is readily accepted for the milk offered to a stranger of note who passes through the village. When it is offered to the Sultan on horseback he dips the little finger of his right hand into it, wipes off the milk on the neck of his horse, and tells his amin,

784 272 who is riding behind him, to give money to the offerer. When a person receives a vessel containing milk he should use both his hands; and if anybody is going to drink milk he must first say the bismillah. Nobody is allowed to laugh while drinking milk.

When a cow has calved, special precautions must be taken with regard to its milk. It must not be removed from the house or tent for two (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder), three (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul), or even seven (Ait Waryager) days. If it were, the cow would be injured by the evil eye and its teats would get diseased. On the first day the milk is always boiled, and in many places on the second (Hiaina, Ait Warain, Ait Nder) or the third (Ulad Bu aziz, Tsul) as well. Among the Ait Waryager it is on the first day eaten boiled (it is then called adhas) and mixed with eggs, and on the second and third day it may be boiled; but only members of the household are allowed to partake of the adhas, and a transgression of this rule is considered to cause injury to the cow.

784 296 [251] When a woollen jellab is washed, the water must not be squeezed out of it lest the wool should be dear, but it must be left to dry in the sun (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

784 262 [252] Another taboo relating to bread—as well as to milk—is the prohibition of selling it, which is very imperative among Berber-speaking people. Among the Ait Waryager a person might, by selling bread, even run the risk of being killed by his relatives; and I was told that a Berber of the central group (Braber) would rather die of hunger than buy a loaf of bread.

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778 784 [253] The person who writes a charm must not only be clean, but also be in the habit of saying his daily prayers and of observing the fast of Ramadan; and in some special cases he must besides abstain from salted food for a week (Ait Waryager), or he must write the charm in a state of nakedness (Ulad Bu aziz).

[256] Among the Ait Waryager a vessel containing fresh milk must not be taken into a mosque.

778 821 [257] Although there are charms which are written when the sun is shining on the paper, I have much more often heard that a charm loses its baraka if the sun shines on the writing or even on the paper after it has been written upon (Andjra, Hiaina, Ait Waryager), and the reason given for it was that baraka must not meet baraka (Hiaina); yet charms written with rose-water or saffron are said not to be spoiled

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821 by sunlight (ibid.). It should also be noticed that many magical practices have to be performed before sunrise.

●784 233 [258] To burn wool is bad for the sheep (Hiaina), or will make the wool dear (Andjra, Ait Waryager). There is an exception to the rule that fire must not touch wool—ink is made of charred wool; but in this case the wool, instead of being pulled out, should be cut with a knife or a pair of scissors or shears so that the sheep shall not suffer pain (Ulad Bu aziz, Ait Waryager), and it must on no account be washed before it is charred (Ait Waryager). The ewe from which it is taken will not have much wool that year, but the next year it will have more wool than other sheep (Ulad Bu aziz). If milk boils over into the fire the cow will have a diseased udder (Shawia, Mogador), or it will give little milk or milk which is poor in cream (Andjra, Ait Waryager). A scribe from the Ait Waryager, however, knew how to prevent the evil: a written charm should be put underneath the daqnust, or jar, into which the milk is poured immediately after the cow is milked, or it should be fastened to the rope by which the aqasror, or two-eared earthenware vessel used for the making of butter, is suspended from the roof. If biestings are spilled in the fire the calf will die in consequence (Andjra), or the cow or sheep will die or be stolen or confiscated or at any rate will produce no milk (At Ubahti).
[252] Among the Ait Waryager the biestings must not be boiled after the third day and until forty days have passed after the birth of the calf; if they were boiled during this period, the calf would die or the milk of the cow would only give a small quantity of butter.

776 [262] The Moors, like all Muhammadan peoples, believe in the existence of a special race of spiritual beings that were created before man. In classical Arabic they are called jinn or jann, in Morocco generally jnun or jnun, the singulars of which are jenn and jenn. A female spirit of this class is called jenniya or jenniya.

The Rifians of the Ait Waryager and Temsaman use the words jjenn and jjnun, the At Ubahti jenn and jnun. A jenniya is in the last-mentioned tribe called tajenniht, among the Ait Yusi tajennit, among the Ait Waryager dajennit.

[268] In Andjra and the Rif any animal or man that throws no shadow in sun- or moonlight is likewise taken for a jenn. If a person wants to shoot a wild animal or bird in the morning or afternoon, he says three times, Ana be llah u be s-sra m ak, "I am protected

776 372 out of the house but should be extinguished indoors, as there are jnun at the door (Ait Waryager).

373 [295] A light should not be extinguished by blowing; if anybody blows out a light he will have a rank breath (Shawia, Aglu), or his face may become distorted (Ait Waryager).

342 776 784 Besides the fire-place there is another haunted place in the house, namely the threshold. Nobody is allowed to sit down on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent; should a person do so, he would become ill himself or give bas to the dwelling. So also it would be unlucky for the house and its inhabitants if anybody should pull up the backs of his slippers on the threshold (Hiaina, Amzmis, [585] Igliwa). A bride is carried across it; Chenier says that when the bride enters the bridegrooms's house, her relatives carefully observe that "she shall not touch the threshold of the door". The "masters of the house" are walking in and out over the threshold. Every house, and indeed every place, has its jenn-owners: kull mahall be mwalih. These spirits are called "the masters of the place", in Arabic mwalin le-mkan (mwalin l-mkan), in Berber ayitbab umhan (Ait Waryager) or idbab w wansa (Ait Sadden); or "the men" or "people of the place", in Arabic rijal le-mkan, in Berber ait lmakan (Shelha) or ait udgar (Igliwa); or "the masters of the house", in Arabic mwalin d-dar, in Berber [296] lemluk n tgimmi (Aglu). If the masters of the house are good the inhabitants will prosper, if bad they will have misfortunes or soon die. These jnun are frightened by dogs, by photographs, and by whistling.

802 [298] Among the Ait Waryager, if anybody receives money in the late afternoon or in the evening, he spits on it so that it shall remain in his bag; but it is their custom not to make any payment after asar.

802 784 Grinding corn, touching grain, lending a handmill to a neighbor, taking corn or a handmill or sieve out of the house or tent, and giving away yeast, are acts which are prohibited at or after asar or between [264] asar and sunset. People should not eat in the dark, because, if they do, jnun may be eating with them. Food kept inside the house over night is covered up to prevent jnun from eating of it (Hiaina, Ait Waryager).

784 776 272 [299] The Ait Waryager maintain that not only food but water which is kept inside the house over night should be covered up, to prevent jnun from drinking of it.

784 People refrain from washing themselves with such water,[1] since
776 there may be jnun in it or jnun may have made water in it (Ait
515 Waryager, Andjra); and bathing after asar is avoided unless special precautions are taken or it is done in a public bath, where there is salt. Nobody, however, would like to go alone into a public bath at night—indeed, many persons are afraid of doing so even by day. It is said, Men hajama ba d l- asri au ama au nama q- lil s-salama, "From blood-letting or bathing or sleep after asar comes little health". A Rifian told me that if a person washes his body after dhor, jnun will make him ill; if he washes his face after sunset, they will give him night-blindness (butallis or [307] budaddis); and if he has his head
[302] shaved after asar, he will have a headache. Shaving after asar, or at least between asar and sunset, is, I believe, universally avoided. In Aglu it is the custom for a person who has to cross a river at night to recite the 112th chapter of the Koran (suratu l-ihlas) before cross-
[513] ing. In Dukkala I was told that nobody would like to sleep at night near a well. To pour hot water on the ground is particularly dangerous after asar, at least if it is done without the accompaniment of the bismillah.

784 To pour water on fire or ashes, too, or to tread on ashes, is most
372 dangerous after asar. To carry ashes after asar is avoided, and so is in some Berber tribes (Igliwa, Ait Waryager) the carrying of fire from one house to another.

776 [307] It is natural that men do their best to protect themselves
789 and their belongings against beings so fiendish and dangerous as the jnun generally are. They have found out somehow that there are various means by which the spirits may be kept at a distance, and they make use of these means for their own benefit.

The jnun are fond of darkness and terrified by light. The burning of candles is therefore a means of keeping them away from lying-in women and newborn infants, from brides and bridegrooms, and from dead persons before they are buried.

The jnun abhor salt, especailly rock-salt. Hence, when afraid of being struck by jnun, many Moors put salt in or underneath their pillows, or strew salt on their beds or under the mats on which they are sleeping, or take salt in their hands if they go out at night, or eat salt if they have been frightened. There are persons who strew salt on the floors of their houses or tents on the twenty-seventh night of

[1] [i.e. Water kept indoors overnight. —Analyst]

716 Ramadan, when the jnun are released from their imprison (303/ ment.
789 Some people keep salt in their bags or put a pinch of salt in their written charms to prevent jnun from spoiling their efficacy.

[231] The Ait Waryager strew salt at the place where an animal is going to be slaughtered, if this is to be done after asar, though not otherwise.

[515] [304] Among the Ait Waryager a person who goes to wash himself at the damattihart in the corner of the house which is reserved for this purpose, throws some salt on the ground.

[305] For the same purpose the Ait Waryager keep salt on their lamps.

●[784] And a person carrying salt with him is prohibited from coming near a butcher's table, because if he did so no jnun would buy any meat from the butcher (Ulad Bu aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[307] The jnun shun the smell of tar.

[342 513] The Ait Waryager put tar on the threshold of the house and at the place on the floor where they sleep, as a protection both against jnun and snakes.

Tar is put in the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried so as to prevent jnun from haunting it and striking the owner when he again digs up his money (Ait Waryager).

The jnun are much afraid of powder, the very smell of which drives them away. The Ait Waryager say that the powder they carry in their bags, like the salt, prevents the money kept there from getting haunted.

[308] The jnun are kept off or driven away by alum, harmel, rue, rosemary, coriander seed, agal-wood, gum-ammoniac, gum-lemon, and benzoin.

[844] [309] Among the Ait Sadden the room or tent in which a child is born is fumigated with gum-lemon or benzoin, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager with benzoin, which is said to be shunned by the jnun but liked by the angels and consequently induces the latter to remain there.

In Fez I was told that they like the smoke of agal-wood as well. It is a common belief in Morocco that the jnun delight in black benzoin (Dukkala, Shawia, Andjra, etc.), whereas opinions differ as regards their attitude to white benzoin. Some people say that they are much afraid of it (Ait Waryager), or that it is liked by certain

625 [27] Among the Ait Waryager a fox is styled si Ali, as though it were a scribe, other persons of that name being called 'Allus. They say that the fox was once a scribe, which is indicated by its Arabic name t a'leb—a confusion between t a'leb and taleb.

777 [30] There are auspicious words as well as inauspicious ones. It is
787 a good omen for a person who sets out on a journey in the morning to
192 hear the words mbarak, "blessed", or mes'ud, "lucky"; and if persons who are intent on robbery at night hear either of these words, which are also used as names for people, cried out, they are encouraged by it to carry out their evil intentions (Dukkala). The Ait Waryager regard it as good fal for one who starts on a journey in the morning to hear the names 'Absram ('Abdsslam) or Moh (Muhammed), but as bad fal to hear 'Esa or Musa. In other cases omens are drawn from words or statements which are by themselves neither lucky nor unlucky, but may become good or bad fal in accordance with the circumstances in which they are heard. If a person is speaking of something which he intends to do, and a stranger is at the same moment heard saying something which might be applied to the object of the conversation, then that which is said is regarded as fal. For example, if he says that he is going to travel or to marry, and somebody is heard saying "No", he should refrain from doing it (Tangier, Andjra, Ait Waryager).

777 [32] If a person starts on a journey or goes to the market and finds that he has left something behind or is called back, he should not turn back, or if he does he should not make another start on that day (Shawia, Ulad Bu'aziz, Andjra, Ait Waryager) or he should eat a little flour before he sets out afresh (At Ubahti); otherwise he will have some misfortune. Hence if some one at home notices the thing left behind he should not ask the other one to return, but call out to make him stop and then take the thing to him.

To do something which is contrary to custom, and therefore improper, is followed by misfortune and, as we have noticed above, is often associated with the activity of [33] jnun or the devil. It is bad fal to light a candle or a lamp in the daytime (Andjra, Ait Waryager).

[292] It is likewise bad to wear a garment with the inside out—such a
[784] thing is only done by Jews. Of him who does it people say that "his religion is reversed" (Ait Waryager).

It is bad to walk with one slipper only (Igliwa); it is said that he who does so is like the devil, who has only one foot (Andjra), or like a one-eyed person (Ait Waryager).

777 It is bad fal to eat or drink standing, to drink water from one hand
[264] only instead of drinking from both hands united (Andjra, Hiaina), and to drink with the mouth [34] in the water like an animal (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager); if you drink in the latter manner the water will go out through your anus.

[787] If a person walks with his hands joined together behind his back, his father or grandfather or some other relative of his will die (Ait Waryager).

777 The house will also be deserted by the angels (Tangier). It is
784 forbidden to whistle in a mosque or on a threshing-floor, and bad fal to do it on the road (Hiaina, Andjra, Ait Waryager). But it is the
533 custom for the shepherd to whistle; he thereby drives away evil influences from the animals (Hiaina, Ait Waryager). From a passage in the Koran it is understood that whistling was in the days of ignorance one of the idolatrous rites in the Meccan temple, and it is therefore generally held to be unlawful for pious Moslems.

787 [35] The twitches of muscles and itchings are interpreted as omens,
827 which are in most cases considered good or bad according as they occur on the right or the left side of the body. Twitching of your right eyelid indicates that some absent member of your family will come back or that some other pleasant event is in store for you, but a twitch of your left eye means that a member of your family will die or that you will have some other sorrow (Hiaina, Tangier, Aglu, Igliwa, Ait Waryager).

According to a scribe from the Ait Waryager, itching of the right palm, the right side of the face, or the right eyebrow indicates happiness, but itching of the left palm, the left side of the face, or the left eyebrow indicates sorrow.

[36] If the sole of one of your feet (Hiaina, Igliwa, Ait Waryager) or of your right foot (Dukkala, Shawia, Aglu) itches you will travel. Some people also believe that you will travel if you feel itching between the toes (Ait Waryager).

777 [40] There are magical influences of many kinds in the various days of the week. I have previously spoken of beliefs relating to Friday, the holy day of the Muhammadan world, as also of the abstinence from work on Sundays observed by the women in some Berber tribes. Sunday is generally considered the most favourable day for the beginning of the autumn ploughing, and in some places even

787 Andjra, Ait Waryager, Ait Nder, Aglu). In the /55/ first ploughing season, however, dreams are generally untrustworthy, because Sitan then turns them topsy-turvey as the plough turns the earth.

777 [58] Muharram, the first month of the Muhammadan year, is in
805 Morocco called s-shar de l-'asur (l-asor, l-'asur), "the month of the
796 'Asur", or simply l-'asur (l-'asor, l-'asur) or, among the Berbers, by some Berberised form of the same word. It has derived this name from the feast on the tenth day of the month. This day, called nhar (or yaum) 'asura ('asora, 'asura) or nhar l-'asur, is practically the Muhammadan New Year's day. Much less notice is taken of the first day of the month; but from a ritual point of view the first ten days sometimes form a period by itself. Townspeople call the first day ras l'am, whereas among country-folks this term is used for the first day of the solar year.

777 The month of the 'Asur is rich in magical qualities. According to
796 Sidi Halil the ninth and particularly the tenth day are blessed days, and on the latter many sacred or wonderful events are said to have taken place in the past. In Morocco baraka is also generally ascribed to those days. Magic, good or evil, is extensively practised on the 'asura [59] day and on the preceding night (lilt 'asura), which is said to favour the witches.

[73] I was told that among the Ait Waryager the farmers give on the 'asura day a tenth part of their sheep and goats to the scribes as zzka ra'sor, believing that there otherwise would be no baraka in their flocks.

[75] The Ait Waryager consider it very meritorious to hoe the ground on their fields or in their gardens on the 'asura day, even though it be only a little, but they do no other agricultural work on that day. The schools are generally, I believe, closed for three days.

777 [76] Among the Ait Temsaman no brooms must be made on the
● 784 'asura day. It is necessary to refrain from sleeping in the daytime on
796 that day (Tangier, Ait Warain); he who does not observe this rule will become ill or be sleepy throughout the year (Ait Waryager).

In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager there is a similar taboo of longer duration, lasting for the first ten days of the month; the latter maintain that a child conceived in that period would be deaf and dumb, and they consider it advisable to refrain from sexual intercourse even till the end of the month.

777 Among various tribes no hen is said to be allowed to sit on her eggs
784 in this month, because if chicks were hatched during it they would
796 drink of the water with which some dead body has been washed—in other words, somebody in the house or tent would die (Hiaina, Ait Nder, At Ubahti, Ait Waryager). But I have also heard another explanation of this taboo, namely, that the chicks would die.

765 Various mourning taboos have to be observed in the month of the
585 'Asur. It is a widespread rule that there must be no weddings during it (Fez, Tangier, Andjra, Ulad Bu'aziz, Ait Waryager).

[77] The women refrain from the use of henna on the 'asura day (Bni (Bni 'Aros), or on the first three (Tsul) or ten (Tangier, Amanuz) days of the month, or on other days as well (Fez, Ait Waryager).

[78] In Andjra and among the Ait Waryager, however, it is popularly believed that the Prophet died and was buried on this day, and that it is he who is mourned for, especially by his descendants, the shereefs.

796 [96] There is one night in Ramadan which, according to Islam, is of much more importance than any other, namely, lailatu l-qadr, "the night of power", on which the Koran is said to have been sent down to the Prophet. It is of more value than a thousand months. On this night "Gabriel comes down in a crowd of angels, supplicates and asks grace for every servant, sitting or standing in remembering God". He who then says the prayers "with faith and the hope of reward shall be pardoned of all his past sins". This night is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, but its exact date[97] has not been discovered by any but the Prophet himself and some of the Companions. A tradition fixes it to be one of the odd nights—the 21st, 23rd, 25th, 27th, or 29th, —and it is generally believed to be the 27th, that is, the night preceding the 27th day.

Among the Arabs of Dukkala and the Rifians of the Ait Waryager the whole Koran is likewise recited during that night.

The Ait Waryager slaughter a number of goats and eat the meat, with oil and bread, in the mosque in the course of the night; this is the only evening in Ramadan when persons other than scribes take a meal in the mosque, because they are afraid of going out in the dark on account of the blood-feud, which is always rife among them. Those who have milch-animals take some dry palmetto leaves to the mosque and put them in the rmahrab where the imam is praying.

243 (Ait Yusi), rue (Hiaina), or harmel (At Ubahti), and extremely frequently by a sickle or a dagger.

251 [242] Among the people of the plains the grain is stored in subterranean granaries consisting of a circular, bottle-shaped pit, the mouth of which is carefully sealed. Such a granary is called in Arabic matmura (Ulad Bu'aziz) or matmur (plur. mtamar; Andjra), and in Berber tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Aglu), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Warain), tasraft (plur. tiserfin; Ait Yusi, Ait Sadden, Ait Nder), dasraft (Ait Waryager). At each village there is a place, called l-mers, which contains a larger or smaller group of these pits.

251 778 [243] In Andjra baraka is added to the grain by a piece of bread being placed in the matmur; while the Ait Waryager, according to a scribe from their tribe, believe that the holiness of the granary itself may make the grain increase after it has been put there.

[244] The grinding of the corn is also subject to certain rules. Evil influences of various kinds must be avoided.

[245] The Igliwa do not even touch grain after 'asar, and in Andjra and among the Ait Waryager nobody is then allowed to lend his hand-mill to a neighbour.

776 778 [247] The Ait Waryager put tar and flour into the wooden box or earthenware vessel in which money is buried---tar in order to prevent the jnun from striking the owner when he again digs up his money, and flour, I was told, to keep the money clean. But perhaps the latter also is intended to serve as a protection against those spirits; in the same tribe a little salt and a grain of barley are sometimes put into a written charm to prevent it from being spoilt by jnun, who are said to be afraid of corn after the ra'sor (la-'sor) has been paid [783] out of it. At the Great Feast flour is used as a means of purifying the sacrificial animal before it is killed; and people who have attended a burial purify themselves by touching flour.

784 [249] In the Garbiya, the Hiaina, and elsewhere nobody would give away yeast from the house or tent after 'asar; to do so would be to give away the rezq or baraka (Ait Waryager).

4/2 The sieve---called in Arabic garbal (garbal, gurbal), karballu, or garballu, and in Berber tallunt (Amanuz, [250] Ait Warain), tallunt (Ait Sadden, Ait Yusi), dardund (Ait Waryager), arkkut (At Ubahti)---which is made of pierced sheep- or goatskin with a wooden rim, must also be handled with caution.

taken verbatim from an 11th century chronicler, al-Bakri): 1) that most of the present Rifian tribes (of which several, including the Bni Waryaghal, Gzinnaya and Marnisa [the last today Arabic-speaking] are mentioned by name) then occupied more or less the same tribal areas, with respect to each other, that they do today; and 2) that vis-a-vis the members of the Salihid dynasty of Nakur, they were the "barbarians at the gates", ready to help pillage the city at a moment's notice when a strong man appeared from outside, and possibly also backsliding from the new religion of Islam. We thus have evidence that the present Rifian tribes have been in the Rif for at least a millenium, and that their reputation as troublemakers goes back to that time! No archaeological excavations, prehistoric, early historic or Islamic, have been made in the region at all, to date.

5--The paper which Blanco refers to is probably E. Milliot, "Nouveaux Qanuns Kabyles" in Hespéris, 1926; these qanuns were written up by the Kabyles in very bad French, and not in Arabic at all!

6--The Spaniards never had any option of recognizing an "area of custom" in Northern Morocco, because the fact of 'Abd al-Krim's already firm implantation of the Shari'a gave them, in effect, little or no say in the matter. This is a fundamental fact which Blanco continued to overlook.

7--Raqba, literally "neck" in Arabic, "bloodfeud, vengeance" in Kabyle. The proper term in Rifian is r-'adhawth (from Arabic l-'Adawa), literally "hatred", while aminghi (from Berber ngh, "to kill") is "struggle, fight, battle".

7a--Market day in the Rif is, in effect, the most sacred day in the week; the market is a place of peace and commercial transaction, and it is harim; to try to carry on a feud in the market, or to kill or wound a person there is haram. The market was, indeed, so much the only place of peace in the Rif that the fine for murder within its limits was 2000 duros, double that for murder on any of the market roads. These fines were paid by murderers and/or their agnates to the imgharen and split up in more or less equal parts among the tribes or segments of tribes who formed the constituents of the market in question. Whenever a real fight started, the market was considered to have been "broken" (yarraz s-suq) for that day. Everyone attending went home at once, but the following week the market was open for business again.

8--Mkhazni: a soldier of the Moroccan government of Makhzin who is a member of a special unit, the Mkhazniya (today, since independence, Makhzin Mobile, or "Forces Auxiliaires"), and has nothing to do with the regular army.

9--These are both "fighting" words in Rifian: mmis nj-haram, literally "sons of the forbidden", casts grave doubts, in the speaker's mind, about the legitimacy of the ancestry of the person spoken or referred to, while mmis n-dhit, although it might mean "son of the eye" to someone unacquanted with finer shades of meaning in the Rif, means in fact "son of the anus", and as such, it speaks for itself.

695 [784] It was, and is, universally believed that anyone who perjured himself at oath would suffer dire consequence; either he, or some member of his family, or his livestock, would be struck dead or blind or dumb by God shortly thereafter, or, if not, that some other almost equally awesome calamity would befall him; and informants cited numerous examples. And: if either the accused or any of his cojurors failed to turn up at the mosque to take oath at the time stipulated (without a valid excuse for not doing so), it was the accused who had to pay the fine for whatever damages he had caused the plaintiff, as his non-[184] appearance was sufficient proof of his guilt. The same was true if [191] one or more of his prospective cojurors refused to swear with him; unlike in the Central Atlas, he could not obtain substitute cojurors, through sacrifice--the Rifian oath system was simpler and more inflexible. And if, of course, the plaintiff failed to show up, there was no oath at all. The accused or any of his cojurors could, however, be legitimately excused (as could the plaintiff) in the event that they had been unavoidably detained or prevented from appearing through illness, etc., in which case the oath was postponed until the following Friday or until such time as the individual in question was well enough to swear.

000 [114] 39--Here Blanco contradicts a previous assertion he made by saying that in this instance Islam and customary law are at one, and that the former puts the responsibility on the individual (which is true as far as oaths are concerned, but highly questionable in many other respects), while the latter puts it on the group!

[157] [181] 40--Blanco develops, and very amusingly, his ideas regarding the Rifian and his perennial mistrust (shimta walu, WALU CONFIANZA!) of his fellow man and of the world around him in a series of humorous papers (Analisis Espectral del Rifeño, Hospitalidad Rifeña, La Garrota Berberisca and Del Gesto en el Islam), all unpublished, which most unfortunately cannot be fitted into the framework of the present compilation.

[171] [597] [114] 41--This is very true; but only in part, for where the author's notion bogs down is in the simple fact that the European "word of honor" is essentially conceptualized as individual rather than collective. One may, to be sure, speak of a "national word of honor", among Europeans, but again this is personified individually through heads of state, etc. Thus, phenomenologically, the European "word of honor" and the Berber collective oath are two rather different kettle of fish, despite a certain parallelism in their objectives.

[114] 42--Blanco's meaning is not quite clear; but, if we understand him aright, why should the imqqranen have either depreciated the value of collective oaths or themselves be depreciated in turn for having to swear? If a defendant can legitimately get powerful and influential cojurors for himself, so much the better for him; but then again, in the Rif, an amghar, though respected by his own constituents, was considered no less bullet-proof than anyone else by his enemies....When Blanco refers to "those who were in on the secret", he presumably means "cojurors".

4. QANUN OF THE JAMA'A OF IMHAWLEN[31] (AITH WARYAGHAR):

A) Qanun:

692 621 614 [693] Praise be to God. Those of the jama'a of Imhawlen appeared for judgment in front of both the undersigned notaries, and presented themselves to us: al-Hajj Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Misa'ud and his brother Muhammadi; Qaddur bin ask-Shaikh Muhammad bin 'Abd as-Salam and his brother Muhammad; al-Muqaddam Muhammadi bin Muhammad bin Ahmad and his brother 'Allush; 'Abdallah bin al-Hasan; Muhammad bin 'Azzuz; Hammu bin Muhammad bin 'Ali and his uncle Shu'aib bin Shu'aib; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Musa; Muhammad bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin al-Hasan; Muhammadi Amzzyan; Awlad al-Muqaddam Shu'aib bin Muhammad bin Shu'aib and their brother Hammu; Muhammadi bin al-Muqaddam and his brother 'Umar[83A], and their brother Hammu. 621 692 693 All these persons are of the jama'a of Imhawlen, and all appeared for judgment (at the present act), agreeing in behalf of what is good and advantageous to the making of the agreement, with respect to the hannash (evil doers; also snake charmers), to robberies and all acts of lowliness and ignominy (Blanco: note a).

685 687 In case any thief or smuggler should be caught in flagrante delicto, he must pay 10 mithqals in money (Blanco: note b).

695 Regarding the above, the interested parties testified. The Murabit Si Muhammad Dardushi and the Murabit Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Qadir al-'Azizi attended the present act with them. 784 Whoever changes or alters this agreement must answer to God, who shall decree his punishment. Those who commit misdeeds (on earth) shall know the change in the other life (Blanco: note c).

A, ["83" apparently does not refer to any footnote here and therefore should be disregarded--Analyst]

574 (perhaps to deliver their portion of the expenses necessary to maintain
689 the guest), and in case one of them is opposed to going, he shall be fined a goat or one duro.

695 (Blanco: paragraph f) Valid and complete testimony. Whoever
784 should change or alter this agreement shall answer to God. Both the
693 undersigned notaries know, personally and by name, all the parties who effected the present agreement.

685 (Blanco: paragraph g) In case anyone should open a pond or an
312 irrigation ditch (thus letting out the water), he shall be fined one duro for the pond and one mithqal for the irrigation ditch.

686 (Blanco: paragraph h) Regarding the contract with the schoolmaster, if anyone should be opposed (to contributing his share to the scholmaster's annual ration of barley), he shall be fined 10 uqiyyas.

689 (Blanco: paragraph i) If those mentioned earlier in the present agreement should assemble and agree on some useful matter, and if in this case there should be anyone (of the members of the abovementioned jama'a) who is opposed (to carrying it out), he shall be fined one duro.

622 (Blanco: paragraph j) Their shaikh is 'Ali bin Muhammad bin 'Azzuz. Everything that he orders (literally, "says") must be done
693 (literally, "will be"). The parties attending know the value of the present agreement, and in virtue of this, both the undersigned notaries bear witness that they are in a perfect state of legal capacity (i.e. of sound minds and memories) (in order to be able to effect the present
805 agreement) and that they know them. On the first (day) of Safar al-Khair of the year 1285 (May 24, 1868).

000 The slave of God--may He be glorified--Muhammad al-Khattabi and 'Umar bin Muhammad, etc.

224 Not exacting responsibility from the party is based on the
672 fact that theft from beehives, for example, is not undertaken during
685 the hunting, for the following day any disagreement between the members of the party would denounce it; and because of this, when the hunt is over, whoever has the intention to do any stealing returns at night and without witnesses either to the hives or the fruit trees, the dis-
224 position of which he noticed during the day. For this reason the
672 accuser obliges the hunters to point out only those who passed in his neighborhood.

224 Perhaps in compensation for such damages, there exists another
183 Rifian custom of presenting in the houses any animals which, wounded and pursued, take refuge in the hedges of cactus surrounding the dwelling; they are decapitated and thrown into the house, or presented to the owners.

224 L) Taboos:

782 A Rifian's religion and system of beliefs[199] obliges him to
784 make a special ceremony in the sacrifice of animals (by cutting their throats), to abstain from eating certain unclean animals, dead flesh,
[751] etc. These, then, are the bases of certain hunting practices: not only to avoid sin, but to maintain a certain level of hygiene.

For this reason, a shot, a trap-setting, and an unleashing of a ferret or a saluki is always preceded by the invocation Bismillah r-rahman r-rahim, "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate".

262 The clansmen of the Aith Hadhifa do not eat animals decapitated
411 by stick or cudgel blows (nor do any other Rifians).

000 Animals caught in a trap which has been set with the Bismillah

556 illustrate that this distinction is recognized not only within
472 the community but by outside authorities.

556 a) A tribesman of the Beni Said had migrated to Alhucemas
485 and worked for Spaniards during the Protectorate. He
472 had purchased the hotel of a Spaniard when the latter
sold on the eve of national independence. While it is
[275] illegal for a Muslim to operate a bar, he continued to
[784] do so with tacit approval from local officials. He
opened several other enterprises accommodating Berber
transients and Western tourists. Although he came from
a poor family he had accumulated considerable capital.
However, his values were oriented almost entirely to
city life and he visited his tribe only once or twice
a year. He did not attempt to translate any of his
556 economic power into social status in his tribe. When
485 an European-sponsored hotel opened in the city, the
472 management regarded this entrepreneur as a competitive
477 threat (he was underselling the new hotel by 50%).
They complained to the police (it was rumored that
generous bribes were offered and accepted) and they
promptly closed the Riffian's bar. He complained to
the Ministry of Interior in Rabat and was told he could
reopen once the tourist season was over.

556 b) A Berber of the Beni Wariyaghar was the son of a
prominent man who had sided with the Spanish against
Ab-del Krim. The man, although he held political office